

JAN 1948

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THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. 41, NO. 8

JANUARY 19, 1948

WHOLE NO. 1078

THE TRAGEDY OF TURNUS: A STUDY OF VERGIL, *AENEID XII* (*Highbarger*)

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THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

Volume 41 contains issues dated: October 6, 20; November 3, 17; December 1, 15 (1947); January 5, 19; February 2, 16; March 1, 15; April 5, 19; May 3, 17 (1948).

Published semi-monthly from October to May inclusive by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States. Place of Publication: Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. Printed by The Science Press Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa.

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Associate Editor, Wm. C. McDermott.

Price, \$2.50 per volume in the Western Hemisphere; elsewhere \$3.00. All subscriptions run by the volume. Single numbers: to subscribers 20 cents, to others 30 cents prepaid (otherwise 30 cents and 40 cents). If affidavit to invoice is required, sixty cents must be added to the subscription price. For residents of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, or the District of Columbia, a subscription to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY (or, alternatively, to the Classical Journal) is included in the membership fee of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, whose members are also entitled to The Classical Outlook and The Classical Journal at special prices in combinations available from the Secretary.

Entered as second-class matter November 7, 1945, at the Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925, authorized October 14, 1938.

THE TRAGEDY OF TURNUS: A STUDY OF VERGIL, *AENEID* XII

The poet Martial in two passages characterizes Vergil as *cothurnatus*, an epithet which in Martial's time had come to mean 'elevated in style' as well as 'tragic',¹ but which nonetheless, has very specific meaning for modern readers of Vergil. We think at once of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*, which is primarily a tragedy, 'The Sack of Troy', and of the Fourth Book, which relates 'The Tragic Love of a Phoenician Queen'. Such weaving of tragedy into the texture of the epic was perfectly normal. Aristotle places the characters of tragedy and epic on the same plane,² and Horace recommends the characters of the *Iliad* to the aspiring young writer of tragedy.³ In the Second Book of the *Aeneid* Vergil is wholly orthodox in his portrayal of the battle between Trojans and Greeks, a conflict in which Aeneas is made to play a leading role. The picture here is strikingly similar to many of the scenes represented by the metopes on the north Doric frieze of the Parthenon and may well have been influenced by that famous temple.⁴ In any case, the spirit of this book of the *Aeneid* is necessarily strongly Greek. In the Fourth Book, however, Vergil strikes a new note in that warfare is temporarily abandoned and we are shown how tragedy may haunt a palace, not through crime but in the passionate love of a woman for a man. Although Dido is a Phoenician, she is the orthodox successor of feminine characters who had appeared in the early Greek drama. It is further instructive to observe that just as the love of Dido for Aeneas motivates,

in part, the first half of the *Aeneid*,⁵ so the passionate love of Turnus for Lavinia is a controlling force in the last half of the poem. It is for this reason that Vergil addresses the Muse Erato near the opening of the Seventh Book as he proceeds to announce the beginning of a new and even more important theme; for if anything is clear, it is that Turnus was almost overwhelmed by a love for Lavinia which was no less fervent than that which possessed Dido for Aeneas. In contrast to these two ardent lovers, Aeneas, the leader of Rome's destiny, is cold and unresponsive but a man of determined course. The *Aeneid* is thus a poem in which those two hoary forces in the life of mankind—war and love—interact so powerfully as to produce the inevitable 'tears, sweat and blood'.

The Twelfth Book of the *Aeneid* along with the Sixth has been called Vergil's best work by such able critics as W. Warde Fowler and Mackail, and the former considered it also his maturest product.⁶ In many ways the Twelfth Book supplements the Sixth, just as it helps to interpret the ultimate meaning of the shield of Aeneas in the Eighth; for in Vergil's view, war has its origin in Hades, at the entrance to which we find its chief ministers congregated in the Sixth.⁷ This book helps to complete the meaning also of the Seventh, in which the forces of primitive Italy are mustered against Aeneas. In various ways, therefore, the Twelfth Book is a most fitting climax of the *Aeneid*.

The Twelfth Book is both epic and tragedy but essentially tragedy in character, portraying in vivid colors the death of Turnus.⁸ At first view that appears very strange because this book

describes also the triumph of Aeneas, who is the hero of the poem as a whole. Yet the conspicuous character throughout this book is young Turnus, and he has been prominent for some considerable time in the earlier parts of the poem. Two explanations of this situation occur to me, either of which seems to be adequate. First, a proper understanding of the *Aeneid* presupposes a detailed knowledge of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, for example, Aeneas had played a leading role from the opening of the poem,⁹ thereby justifying his own words to Dido:

quaeque ipse miserrima vidi
et quorum pars magna fui.

Son of Anchises and Aphrodite, he was the leader of the Dardanians and an ally of Priam. He often had fought beside Hector and with the latter was called by Homer the chief source of Troy's defense. He had met Achilles in battle and withdrew only after his shield had been pierced and he had been removed from the conflict by Poseidon. He and Hector pursued the Greeks almost until the very end. He had been wounded more than once. As a result of all this, Poseidon prophesied that Aeneas should enjoy complete rulership over all the Trojans and their descendants.¹⁰ This entire story is in Homer. Vergil echoes this high praise of Aeneas in three places,¹¹ but it is especially significant that Aeneas' fight with Achilles in the Twentieth Book of the *Iliad* is his last battle at Troy, so far as Homer is concerned. After his withdrawal from the battle through Poseidon, the fatal contest between Hector and Achilles follows, and from this time on our attention is fixed on these two great warriors. This suggests that Turnus is primarily the Achilles of the *Aeneid* and confirms the Sibyl's prophecy that Aeneas must again behold the rivers Simois and Xanthus, the camp of the Greeks, and confront a second Achilles—in Latium;¹² hence Aeneas' need of the vision in Elysium, the conference with Evander, and the divine shield. He must be thoroughly prepared when he enters the battle in Latium. He must no longer *rush* into the fray, as he did after Troy had been captured.¹³

The war about Troy had lasted for nearly ten

years; and when it was ended, the surviving Greek and Trojan leaders departed for their various homes. Some of them wandered about over land and sea for a good while, and two of them in particular, Odysseus and Diomed, were said to have visited Italy. It was claimed that Diomed established settlements at various points in Italy,¹⁴ and the wanderings of Odysseus were immortalized by Homer,¹⁵ but if Diomed is merely 'in the background' in the *Aeneid*, Odysseus has been given a positively bad character in the poem, in agreement with the degradation of Odysseus, which even the Greek writers had given his character as early as the fifth century B.C., at least.

Aeneas does not appear in the *Odyssey*, of course, but it was necessary that he too be made to undergo hardships on land and on sea, like many of the Greek leaders; and he too must be brought to Italy by Vergil. In this development Vergil was following post-Homeric tradition, of course.

When Vergil undertook to compose the *Aeneid* his hero was evidently mature in years,¹⁶ had fought in one great war, had been away from Troy for a considerable period of time, and was 'a widower in middle age', as Conway described him. It would seem that he had had enough adventures for one man. Yet in the *Aeneid* he must undertake a second great conflict—in Latium—and must win the day. Then he must found a new city and name it after his new bride, whom he must win as against a youthful rival.

It is clear that Vergil had no easy task set for him when he undertook to make Aeneas a hero once more. He must transplant him to new soil and revive, if possible, the spirit of the warrior within him. Aeneas is not an adventurer like Odysseus nor much of a lover. He is not even an active warrior in Latium until the Tenth Book has opened. It may be largely for such reasons as these that Vergil seems first to have chosen another (Julius Caesar?) as his hero for an epic, later Octavian, and only at the request of the latter, now Augustus, finally adopted Aeneas.¹⁷ Of these three, the first two would be more vigorous and more original characters, and both had known war and romance. Then, in

adopting Aeneas, Vergil was bound more or less strictly by tradition, and the element of originality which he could introduce into this epic must inevitably come from the other characters. Hence, we think of Dido, Camilla, and Turnus as vivid personalities but of Aeneas as a rather subdued hero, whom we view largely through the mists of tradition. Aeneas is scrupulously faithful to duty (*pius*) but not particularly interesting. Only toward the end of the poem does he fully emerge as a distinctly Homeric character.¹⁸

We are compelled to think of Vergil as pondering this difficult problem long and thoughtfully to himself, for Ennius and Naevius would be of limited assistance. We can fully appreciate Vergil's perplexity as it is revealed in the letter which he sent to the Emperor in reply to the latter's inquiry how he was progressing with the *Aeneid*. Vergil answered the Emperor: 'About my Aeneas (I will say that) if I now had anything to report worthy of your hearing, verily I would send it to you gladly. But so great is the undertaking which I have begun that I feel I have assumed it almost in rashness (*vicio mentis*), especially since, as you know, I am giving myself to other, weightier studies in addition to these'.¹⁹ Possibly at some time during this period he recalled, likewise, the words of Cicero as the great orator, man of letters, and statesman pondered his own career, now inevitably drawing to its close: 'No one could easily induce me to turn back from the goal whither I have set out, nor could he, as in the case of Pelias, "cook me over again". If some god should make the generous offer that I might become a boy or again might cry in the cradle, verily I would refuse; nor would I willingly be called back from the goal to the starting-line after my race had been run'.²⁰ Some such thoughts as these must have moved through Vergil's mind as he proceeded to shape his conception of Aeneas. It was essentially a problem in literary transformation, with which Vergil had often dealt successfully, though never before on the present scale.²¹

Thus, if Vergil chose Aeneas, he must keep his character consistent with that which a traditional character, starting life over again, as it were, inevitably required. It is probably for this reason

that Aeneas displays the hesitancy, deliberation, uncertainty and perplexity on various occasions, and conservatism that are characteristic of an older man. Vergil was psychologist enough to consider that requirement. The youthful Turnus is precisely the opposite—sure of himself, bold and rash. He has yet to taste life, has yet to experience the real meaning of war; and besides, he is passionately in love with Lavinia. In these two cases we see the vast difference between Vergil's handling of a traditional character whose type was fixed, and a new character, who is represented as native to southern Italy and largely the creation of Vergil himself in the *Aeneid*. Our judgment has not gone astray if we prefer Turnus as a warrior to Aeneas, and Vergil, too, must have had much the same feeling. It has been observed that Milton thus unwittingly made Satan the real hero of *Paradise Lost*. In the treatment of Aeneas, however, Vergil does transform him into a genuine Roman.²² To that extent he changed the tradition. Yet, out of poetic justice to his traditional Trojan character, he makes Aeneas' battles in Latium of short duration but of glorious end. In this feature we are reminded of Achilles. The closing words of the *Aeneid* are spoken by the hero's last enemy; and this last battle in the *Aeneid* is a close duplicate of Aeneas' last battle in the *Iliad*. In a sense, then, Aeneas is re-living those hard days about Troy, but only for a short time. He is still the hero of Homer as long as he must fight; but Vergil wisely decided to limit Aeneas' actual fighting, thereby giving greater scope to his other more original characters. Moreover, at the time when the *Aeneid* was being composed, Rome had ceased from strife after a century of civil war and was in no mood for the glorification of war. It was peace and the fruits of peace that she now coveted. This was in harmony with Augustus' proud claim that he had closed the gates of war. Hence, the conspicuous warriors of the *Aeneid* are in the main Rome's enemies. Aeneas is more like the *pater familias* of a Roman family.

Although the story of Aeneas had been presented in early Greek and subsequent Roman tradition and in Roman art conspicuously during the second half of the last century B.C., and ex-

altered by the Julian family even before the latter period, Vergil turned to Aeneas as his last choice for an epic hero. Thereby he was reviving, in some measure, the earlier work of Naevius and Ennius, but must rival Homer primarily.^{22a} It was probably the latter task especially that he had for a good while avoided. It was because he must somehow cause Aeneas to develop that the task was difficult. To create a new Aeneas for Latium was not easy.

The Twelfth Book of the *Aeneid* is not only epic but drama, as well. It was considered a tragedy in three acts by the late W. Warde Fowler, divided as follows: Act One, verses 1–215; Act Two, verses 216–697; Act Three, verses 698–end. Accepting this division I wish to enlarge on its tragic features.

In Act One the tragic atmosphere is definitely established. This is seen in the repeated mention of blood,²³ which recalls the Sibyl's prophecy;²⁴ and in the obtrusive presence of the Furies and Fates.²⁵ Turnus is bold and confident at the outset and demands battle with Aeneas. The action, however, is generally subdued and this part of the book ends quietly with solemn sacrifice and prayer.

The Second Act, which is by far the longest, recreates in all its essentials the field of battle as Homer was accustomed to describe it. The Rutulians, and even Turnus, momentarily hesitated to join battle with the Trojans. Thereupon Juturna, Turnus' divine sister, at the instigation of Juno derided them for their cowardice. Then she sent a false omen to them, as the result of which the Rutulians, deceived, broke the truce which they had agreed upon. General fighting ensued, in which Aeneas was wounded by an arrow coming from some unknown source, and was compelled to retire. This inspired Turnus and he proceeded to slay many Trojans. He was like Ares in slaughter or like Boreas when he drives the clouds before him, says Vergil.

Meanwhile Iapynx, protégé of Apollo, had tried in vain to extract the arrow from Aeneas' side; but Venus finally lent him unseen assistance, and Aeneas, thus healed, led his men to the battle like a storm-cloud. General fighting was renewed but Aeneas sought only to meet Turnus.

Inspired with fear for Turnus' safety, Juturna, his sister, crowded Metiseus, the driver, from Turnus' chariot, and, herself taking the place of Metiseus, became Turnus' charioteer and proceeded to give him her protection. Like a flitting swallow she drove the chariot hither and thither but kept Turnus from encountering Aeneas. These two warriors slew many, carrying out their conquests like mighty roaring fires or rushing torrents. Then, after searching in vain for Turnus, Aeneas decided to surprise the city of Laurentum, King Latinus' capital, by attacking it. The defending Latins are compared to confused bees in a rock when a shepherd tries to subdue them with smoke; for their protectors were mostly women, children, and old men. Thereupon Queen Amata, despairing of Latinus' safety and that of the city, hanged herself; for, as she looked out from the wall upon the battlefield, she saw only Aeneas and his host and concluded that Turnus was now dead.

The sound of the siege reached Turnus' ears and depressed his spirits but Juturna would not permit him to relieve the beleaguered city. Finally, a messenger reported to Turnus the sad plight of Laurentum. Thereupon he returned to the city and offered personally to decide the issue for all.

This is the turning-point in the drama (*ἡ περιπέτεια*). Like Dido, Turnus is now resigned to die, confident that he will win a noble fame in so doing.²⁶ The atmosphere throughout this part of the book is highly charged, there is tense action, and countless deeds of the Homeric battlefield are vividly re-enacted. The tragic features of Act One are maintained by the constant mention of blood and by the allusion to the Furies and Fates.²⁷

The Third Act, only slightly longer than the First, now brings the conclusion swiftly before us. When Aeneas learned that Turnus had come to the city of Laurentum great joy filled his heart that now, at last, he could meet Turnus face to face. Soon they joined battle, in which Turnus led the attack but broke his sword and was forced to flee for his life. He could not escape, however, because he was hemmed in on every side by obstacles. Hereupon Juturna once more came

to his rescue by bringing to him his own trusty blade. The battle was now renewed between Turnus and Aeneas. Meanwhile at Jupiter's command Juno had yielded to Fate and had consented to victory for Aeneas over the Latins *provided that* the latter should not be made to change their name, language, or customs as they finally would mingle their blood with the Trojans in marriage. Jupiter thereupon dispatched a Fury to frighten Juturna and to cause her to desert Turnus. This Fury assumed the form of an owl and fluttered against Turnus' shield. Juturna recognized the terrible omen, bid her brother a last farewell and then miraculously concealed herself in a stream. Turnus now discovered that he was completely deserted—not only by Juno but by his own sister, Juturna, as well. Thereupon he exerted a final effort to conquer Aeneas. Lifting up a mighty rock he hurled it at Aeneas, but it failed to reach its mark. Aeneas, in turn, hurled his spear, which pierced Turnus' armor fatally. Then drawing his sword, he buried it in Turnus' chest. Turnus' spirit with a groan of resentment joined the shades in the World Below.

The tragic atmosphere had been continued by the presence of blood²⁸ and the Furies and Fates,²⁹ but has been notably enhanced and intensified by the introduction of the element of darkness, which, like an enveloping cloud, has gradually been settling upon Turnus.³⁰ Night and the shades from the World Below now become conspicuous³¹ as fright becomes terror and the latter is turned into rout. Then, at the end, the scene is suddenly shifted from the battlefield to Hades. We may conclude that the spirit of Turnus had joined that of notorious Catiline, as the latter appears on the shield of Aeneas, where he is shown undergoing punishment in Tartarus.³²

From the above account Turnus is seen to be a tragic character, not only because of his personal traits³³ but likewise because he is the victim of gradually increasing ill fortune (*ἀτυχία*). To illustrate, when he first attacked Aeneas, in his haste he unwittingly seized the sword of Metiseus instead of his own trusty blade, and this was, as we saw, shattered against the divine shield of

Aeneas. Turnus was then compelled to flee.³⁴ No way of escape lay open, however, for he was hemmed in by the Trojans on one side and by natural barriers on all others. Then, when Juturna finally brought his own sword to him, Jupiter pondered the Fates and persuaded Juno to renounce her anger toward the Trojans and desert Turnus. This caused Jupiter to remove Juturna from the battlefield, and Turnus stood alone to face Aeneas and death. The climax of Turnus' ill fortune is represented by the *bulla* and the *balteus* of young Pallas, which Turnus had taken from the body of the slain youth and had been wearing during this battle. This act represents Turnus' tragic error (*ἀπαρτία*), for Vergil states that the *balteus* was *infelix*, since spoils taken from the enemy were ill-omened and destined to bring the wearer only trouble, according to Greek belief.³⁵ The Romans were accustomed to dedicate such spoils to the gods. Similarly, it was the sight of Patroclus' armor worn by Hector that aroused Achilles to slay the latter.³⁶ Thus, both Camilla and Turnus lost their lives ultimately because of their greed for fine trappings and their disregard of divine law. Aeneas, as the servant of the gods and the instrument of Fate, stands forth in striking contrast.

Turnus represents Italy, not the Italy which we see portrayed on the shield of Aeneas—the Italy of Vergil's day—but primitive Italy, before unity and a single, united purpose were ever dreamed of. Aeneas was now undertaking a contest that was destined ultimately to bring about this united Italy, although such a time was still far off. Hence he could not understand the meaning of his shield, as Vergil indicates; but he had won his battle against Turnus and was now ready to pass his sword on to another and still another until at length in the fulness of time Augustus would appear and bring to completion that which Aeneas himself had merely begun. Turnus thus embodies the rude elemental forces of southern Italy that came forward to oppose Aeneas; and, like the wild streams of its hills and the young bulls of its forests, to which Vergil compares him, Turnus must be tamed. Such was the decree of Fate.

This final scene of the *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas slays Turnus, is introduced by a picture that is somewhat similar to one already presented in the Seventh Book.³⁷ Once again a Fury is invoked to execute the divine will; but whereas in the Seventh Book it was Allecto, eldest of the Dirae, who was summoned by Juno to inspire Queen Amata with frenzy (*furor*), in the present case Jupiter dispatched Megaera to appear before Turnus in order to remove Juturna, Turnus' divine sister, from the conflict and prevent her further helping of Turnus. Megaera is described as one of three sister Furies who frequent the hall of Jupiter and the threshold of Pluto.³⁸ Vergil further informs us that when Jupiter wishes to arouse fear in men, inflict them with sickness or death, or frighten cities, he calls upon these Dread Sisters to execute his will. Therefore, he now sent the Fury, swift as an arrow, on her course; and, transforming herself into an owl, she became an evil omen. She fluttered against the shield of Turnus with a familiar screeching. Turnus was terrified and Juturna nearly tore the fillet from her hair, lacerated her face, and beat her breast in frenzy. Recognizing the dread omen of death she deserted Turnus. The weirdness of this whole closing scene recalls the famous words,

The raven himself is hoarse
That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan
Under my battlements,
as, likewise,
And yesterday the bird of night did sit,
Even at noonday, upon the market-place,
Hooting and shrieking.³⁹

This scene portrays the complete desertion of Turnus, not only by Juturna but by Juno herself, in accordance with a decision of Jupiter reached earlier in the book.⁴⁰ At the same time it recalls the utter loneliness of the scene about Dido as she was haunted by diverse omens after she had decreed death for herself. In Dido's case, too, the owl, but merely as the bird of night, added its dismal hooting as terror after terror crept upon Dido.⁴¹ Now the presence of this bird always suggested to the Romans the possibility that it embodied a witch or might even be transformed into a kind of vampire.⁴² It was

extremely ominous. Little wonder, then, that Turnus' hair stood on end and his tongue clave to his palate. Just as this book opened with the sight of blood and blood has flowed freely throughout it, so now the closing scene will be one of blood, and Turnus will be sent swiftly down to the shades in the World Below. At this point, however, to blood there is added the element of darkness, as we shall see.

It has been argued by Terzaghi that in his picture of Turnus and the owl Vergil was influenced by the representation of a similar scene on two Etruscan urns, now in Florence.⁴³ On these urns a warrior appears clad in coat-of-mail constructed in chain-pattern, wearing a helmet with long plumes, carrying a shield on his left arm and a sword in his right hand. A bird is flying in his face. Objections have been raised to Terzaghi's interpretation, notably by Dueati,⁴⁴ because the bird may be a crow or raven, and may therefore allude to M. Valerius Corvus (or Corvinus), as Dueati believes. Others object because the warrior may be a Gaul⁴⁵ or merely on certain general principles.⁴⁶ I think, however, that additional evidence is at hand to support Terzaghi's view. Livy states that in 218 B.C., when strange *monstra* were being recorded, the spear of Juno in her temple at Lanuvium seemed to move of its own accord, and a raven (*corvus*), flying into the temple, perched itself upon the couch, where the goddess was supposed to be sitting at a *lectisternium*.⁴⁷ Now a gold coin of Quintus Cornuficius, struck about 44-42 B.C., illustrates this scene perfectly. On the obverse is the head of Jupiter Ammon. On the reverse a wreath is being placed upon the head of Cornuficius by Juno, back of whom and seemingly on her shield a raven is fluttering. Juno's shield here shown is the archaic *ancile*, so often seen in her statues. It is significant for the picture in the *Aeneid* that Jupiter is figured on the obverse of the coin, since Vergil states that the Fury was dispatched to Turnus by Jupiter.⁴⁸

Turning now again to the case of M. Valerius Corvus (or Corvinus), which Dueati would associate with the scene on the Etruscan urns, I can discover no evidence conflicting with the view of Terzaghi. The year 349 B.C. was filled with

trouble for Rome, one source of which was the Gauls. M. Valerius, a young Roman military tribune, took his place in the center of the Roman army and led an attack upon the enemy. Now it happened that one of the Gauls, of great size and clad in splendid armor, challenged the Romans to a combat with one of their representatives. Hereupon Valerius volunteered, when suddenly a raven (*corvus*) perched upon his helmet and faced his enemy. Valerius accepted the omen and prayed, says Livy, *si divus, si diva esset, qui sibi praepetem misisset, volens propitiis adessem.* Then (*mirabile dictu*) the raven flew swiftly into the face of the Gaul and attacked him with its beak and claws. His eyes and face were injured and he was so confused in mind that Valerius easily slew him. Thereupon the bird flew away to the east. From this incident the Roman was called M. Valerius Corvus or Corvinus. It seems clear that the Etruscan urns portray a Gaul, or at least some one other than a Roman.⁴⁹

Nor is there serious objection that Vergil speaks of an owl, not a raven. The owl, as we have seen, was considered very ominous by the Romans. In Vergil, however, the raven (rook) is regarded as a bird that gives signs of an approaching storm⁵⁰ and it may indicate likewise that a storm is past;⁵¹ but in neither case does Vergil see any divine prescience in the bird:

haud equidem credo, quia sit *divinitus* illis
ingenium aut rerum *fato prudentia* maior.

By others it was thought that a raven appearing on the left was an unlucky sign.⁵² What Vergil evidently has done in his picture of Turnus is to change the raven, the bird of popular superstition, to an owl and employ the latter with a far more intensified effect than he did even in the case of Dido.⁵³ At the same time, the owl logically suggests the atmosphere of approaching darkness, which is constantly emphasized throughout the last third of this book—a darkness that signifies death for Turnus. Thereby the owl becomes doubly more ominous than the raven could have been.

From any point of view it is clear that Vergil's picture of Turnus and the owl is complicated in origin. Of all Vergilian characters Turnus is, as we have previously observed, the closest in

disposition to Achilles.⁵⁴ From the moment when he takes an active part in the scene⁵⁵ he is proud, boastful, determined and selfish; and throughout his brief career he is driven on by a force not his own, which ultimately works his destruction and which most appropriately is called *furor* ($\alpha\tau\eta$). Like Achilles, he has divine aid until in the final scene it deserts him—the aid of his goddess-sister, Juturna, beloved of Jupiter,⁵⁶ and the aid even of Juno. Young, powerful and comely—again like Achilles—Turnus is destined to meet an early death at the hands of Aeneas, the hated invader. But if Turnus thus moves constantly in the grip of madness (*furor*), he is surrounded by advisers who are likewise subject to madness—the mad Queen Amata, his distraught sister, Juturna, and the tragic Camilla. He is favored and directed by Juno, the author of madness in the *Aeneid*. His noble birth from King Daunus of Apulia availed him but little.

Turnus is thus a tragic character both personally and from the technical point of view; and if the Twelfth Book of the *Aeneid* represents the triumph of Aeneas, it depicts likewise the downfall of Turnus. It is a tragedy of the battlefield, however, not of the palace; and Turnus and Dido are seen to play complementary roles. Horace vividly described the type of character represented by Turnus when he wrote in the second Roman Ode:⁵⁷

vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat
in rebus; illum ex moenibus hostiis
matrona bellantis tyranni
prospiciens et adulta virgo

suspirat, eheu, ne rudis agminum
sponsus lacessat regius asperum
tactu leonem, quem cruenta
per medias rapit ira caedes.

Where, apart from the *Aeneid* itself, can we find a better illustration of the household of Latinus, of Turnus, and of Aeneas, his foe? Horace was writing of the young Roman soldier in the general sense, but was not Aeneas a model for the young Roman? In this passage, consciously or unconsciously, Horace has portrayed a siege like that of Laurentum, in which Aeneas led the at-

tack against the walled city, while Turnus was too far away to defend it. Queen Amata and Lavinia look on fearful that Turnus has been killed.⁵⁸ Aeneas too, like the young Roman compared to a lion by Horace and aroused by bloody wrath (*cruenta . . . ira*), was inflamed by righteous indignation (*furiis accensus et ira*) when he suddenly caught sight of the spoils taken by Turnus from the boy Pallas.⁵⁹ Horace describes the type represented by Turnus likewise in his picture of the Apulian soldier who is fighting even for Rome⁶⁰ or in his account of the hard training that was endured by the early Sabines,⁶¹ for he seems to regard the vigorous Apulian and the thrifty Sabine as generally equivalent. Turnus is thus discovered to be a typical south Italian warrior of early times, when the spirit of individualism and freedom was very strong. Yet Vergil has idealized him by the introduction of various external elements, and, in addition, has moved him to the north.

One additional fact serves to explain Vergil's tendency to incorporate Etruscan elements in his tragedy of Turnus. It is significant that in the Seventh Book of the *Aeneid*, when the catalogue of the Italian forces opposing Aeneas is presented, Mezentius heads the list of leaders. Vergil states that Mezentius was an Etruscan from Agylla (Caere), whom he calls *acer* and *contemptor divum* on two different occasions. He was likewise *superbus* and *tyrannus*.⁶² But, worst of all, he was so unspeakably cruel that even the Etruscans could not tolerate him and drove him from their country, after which he sought refuge with the Rutulians.⁶³ He was ultimately slain by Aeneas at the end of the Tenth Book in a scene in which Aeneas keenly relished his opportunity of slaughtering the Etruscan. The fact that Vergil causes this Etruscan volunteer to aid Turnus suggests how nearly akin, in many respects, these two warriors were; for in the story as Cato the Elder had told it in his *Origines*,⁶⁴ Turnus fled to Mezentius after his defeat by Aeneas. Livy, too, represents Turnus as king of the Rutulians; and after he had been defeated by the Trojans, aided by their Latin allies, he sought refuge with Mezen-

tius and the Etruscans in their flourishing city, Caere.⁶⁵ Dionysius in his account⁶⁶ calls 'Tyrrenus' (Turnus) the leader of the Rutulians, who had revolted from King Latinus, and nephew of Queen Amata. During the battle with Aeneas he was joined by Mezentius, king of the Etruscans. Under Ascanius, son and successor of Aeneas, the Etruscans were defeated in battle and Mezentius made an alliance of friendship with the Latins.

Livy on his part conceives of the history of the house of the Tarquins as likewise a tragedy when he speaks of the younger Tarquin as goaded by the Furies of his wife, Tullia: *tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum*. Then, at the last, Tullia herself is driven by the Furies to slay her father, Servius.⁶⁷ This act represents the climax, artistically and historically, of Livy's first book. According to Vergil, however, his frenzy (*furor*) led Turnus to his own destruction; and when his end is described, it is a feeling of deep resentment in Turnus' heart that is emphasized:

ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
vitaque cum gemitu fugit *indignata* sub umbras.
If we seek for the 'teaching' of such a drama, as the Greeks always did, it is simply this, that *furor* brings with it only defeat in the end, whereas *pietas* is able to triumph over all obstacles.

Finally, let it be observed that this last verse of the *Aeneid* quoted above is a literal repetition of the line which describes the death of Camilla; and, in the form of a translation of Homer's words, it recalls the death of Patroclus and Hector.⁶⁸ It echoes, likewise, the first word of the *Iliad* ($\mu\hat{\eta}\nu\nu$), an additional suggestion of the great similarity between Turnus and Achilles. The *Aeneid* thus opens with the resentment of Juno and closes with the resentment of Turnus, who is Juno's instrument in the second half of the poem. Aeneas, on the other hand, wins a great triumph in spite of gods and men, for such was the decree of the Fates. To summarize the great conflict of the poem Vergil's one verse seems doubly comprehensive:

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

NOTES

¹ Martial V.5.8; VII.63.5. For Roman application of the word *cothurnus*, see Kendall K. Smith, *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* XVI (1905), 123–164, esp. 152. The famous African mosaic found near Carthage represents Vergil seated in *cathedra* and flanked by the muses of epic poetry and of tragedy.

² Arist. *Poet.* 1448a, 1449b, 1453a. R. S. Conway, *Vergil's Creative Art* (London, 1931), 10–23, studies Vergil's treatment of epic and tragedy, deciding that Books 6, 8 and 10 are orthodox tragedies. He maintains that Vergil's principle in the *Aeneid* 'was to combine in alternation the methods and motives of epic poetry with those of Greek tragedy', which led him to diverge from Homer at many points and brought antique epic to its perfection. That is, in Conway's opinion, the even books of the *Aeneid* are tragedy, the odd are epic. This view seems too sweeping, however, and implies a method of workmanship entirely too stereotyped for Vergil. Most recently a good analysis of the *Iliad* as tragedy has been offered by Rhys Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), 78–85.

³ Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 128–130.

⁴ Cf. Ch. Picard, *Révue des Études latines* XXXVIII (1936), 269–271. The thirty-two metopes have been reconstructed in part by Camillo Praschniker, *Parthenon-Studien* (Vienna, 1928), 1–141, and with the help of his work we can make some comparison between Vergil's account and the Parthenon.

⁵ After her introduction in I.340, Dido is kept before the reader in every book except 3, 7, 8, 10, 12; and in 6.450–476, Aeneas reveals considerable feeling for her, although she is now a spirit in the Fields of Mourning. Lavinia appears in 6, 7, 11, 12, but is a very weak substitute for Dido because Aeneas reveals even less affection for her than for Dido. Turnus, on the other hand, is passionately fond of Lavinia. Creusa is mentioned only once after the Second Book—at 11. 297, where it is Ascanius who alludes to her. In a careful paper 'Lavinia: an Interpretation', *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* LXI (1930), 175–194, Dorothy Clinton Woodworth has argued that Lavinia is really Livia in disguise. She thinks that Lavinia blushed (*Aen.* XII.64–69) 'because of her mother's words about Aeneas as son-in-law', and that Lavinia was probably not in love with Turnus—or with anyone. But if Lavinia had never seen Aeneas, as Miss Woodward believes, then the parallel with Nausicaa and Odysseus (*Hom. Od.* VI.244 f.), which she cites, breaks down.

⁶ See W. Warde Fowler's suggestive commentary, entitled, *The Death of Turnus* (Oxford, 1919). I owe much to it throughout the following pages.

⁷ See *Aeneid* VI.273–294. Cf. the writer's *The Gates of Dreams* (Baltimore, 1940), 73–76, 108–111.

⁸ Cf. Fowler, as in note 6, above.

⁹ He appears at the following points in the *Iliad*; Books II.819–823; V. *passim*; VI.72–85; XI.56–61; XII. 98–100; XIII.455–545; XIV. 425 f.; XVI.536, 608–625; XVII.319–351, 483–end; XX.75–352.

¹⁰ See *Iliad* XX.307 f.

¹¹ See *Aeneid* V.803–811; XI.288–292; XII.435–440.

¹² See VI.86–94.

¹³ See II.314–317, and most of the book.

¹⁴ See *Aen.* VIII.9–17; XI.226; Hor. *Sat.* I.5.91 f. Cf. Holland, in A. J. P. LVI (1935), 209, for an excellent statement regarding Diomed in the *Aeneid*.

¹⁵ Odysseus' wanderings were associated with Circeum on the western coast of Italy (*Aen.* VII.10–24, 799; III.386) and with Cumae.

¹⁶ In *Iliad* XIII.484, Aeneas is said to be in the bloom of youth (cf. *Aen.* I.321, where he is *iuvénis*), and Solon placed this age at 22–28 years: see fr. 19, 7 f. (Diehl). In *Aen.* I.1, he is *vir*, which agrees with *iuvénis* in vs. 321. When he left Troy Ascanius was only a little fellow, about seven (II, 723 f.; cf. I.690), and seven years afterward at Carthage he is called *puer*, which would make him about fourteen or older. At the close of the poem (XII.435–440) he is soon to be *adulescens*. As Fowler has shown (*op. cit.* 86–92, on *Aen.* XII.435 ff.), Ascanius was steadily growing up as a normal Roman boy. No precise age for Aeneas can be derived from these facts, of course, but throughout the poem he reveals maturity of conduct and judgment.

¹⁷ On the question of Caesar as Vergil's original subject for an epic, see Tenney Frank, *Vergil, A Biography* (New York, 1922), 64–76. It should be observed, however, that Lucius Varius Rufus, Vergil's close friend and the leading epic writer of the time (Hor. *Sat.* I.10.43 f.; *Od.* 1.6) had composed an epic on Caesar's death, which was published before 41 B.C.: see T. W. Dickson, *CJ* XXX (1935), 278–286, esp. 279. In *Georg.* III.8–38, Vergil describes the epic, which he would gladly compose in honor of Octavian's triumphs. In *Buc.* IV.53–59, and VI.3–5, he indicates his early interest in the writing of epic, but is specific only in regard to the "wonder child" in the former passage.

¹⁸ He had fought at Troy, of course, as *Aen.* II.298–670, shows, and that, too, in addition to Homer's account, for he was helping to defend the city after the Greeks had entered it. But this account in *Aen.* II is merely *narrated* to Dido, and briefly, as *Aeneas* says (v. 11). A still more summary account of his battle at Troy is presented in the sculptured scenes on Juno's temple at Carthage (I.459–493), most of which are matched in the *Iliad*.

¹⁹ See Macrob. *Sat.* I.24, 11.

²⁰ Cic. *de Sen.* XXIII.83, written late in 45 or early in 44, probably. For the tone of the passage, cf. *Brutus*, 328–331, which was written one year or a little more before the preceding. Aeneas had seen in the fate of Troy what Cicero foretold as the destiny of the Roman Republic. In the spirit of the *de Sen.*, as quoted above,

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Horace protests against his being asked to return to the writing of lyric poetry in *Epist.* I.1.1–11 (*Non eadem est aetas, non mens*). He was in middle life.

²¹ In *Aen.* I.588–593, Aeneas becomes a god in appearance, and *ibid.* 683–690, Cupid is changed to resemble Aseanius. In V.604–658, Iris transforms herself into the old nurse, Beroe, and *ibid.* 841 f., the god Somnus assumes the appearance of the Trojan, **Phorbas**. In VII.189–191, King Pieus is changed into a woodpecker; *ibid.* 346–356, Allecto's snake becomes a necklace and ribbon for Amata; *ibid.* 415–419, Allecto assumes the form and dress of Calybe. In IX.117–122, Aeneas' ships are changed into sea-goddesses (cf. X.215–259), and *ibid.* 646–658, Apollo assumes the shape of Butes, Anchises' squire. In X.189–193, Cyenus is changed into a swan. In XII.843–868, the Fury, Allecto, is transformed into an owl (see below). Many of these, but not all, are Homeric in technique. In connection with such processes Vergil's interest in the magician, Circe, is evident: *Buc.* VIII.70; *Aen.* VII.10–24, 189–191, 280–283. But for all that, Vergil does not permit Aeneas to visit Circe as Odysseus' company had done.

For the several problems that must have confronted a young Roman poet who was about to compose an Homeric epic, see Conway, 'Vergil as a Student of Homer', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XIII (1929), 272–292, esp. 283 f. E. Norden, *Ennius and Vergil* (Leipzig, 1915), 170–173, emphasizes the powerful influence of Ennius in Vergil's arrangement of his story and his division of the *Aeneid* into two hexads. Johannes Tolkehn, *Homer und die römische Poesie* (Leipzig, 1900), deals largely with the external evidence among all classes of Roman writers as to Homer's influence but does not touch upon our specific problem.

²² See W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 403–427, for an illuminating discussion of the *Aeneid* in this respect.

^{23a} So R. Heinze, *Virgils Epische Technik* 3 (1928), 171: Mit der Ilias muszte Virgil nun in Wettstreit treten.

²³ Verses 8, 29, 36, 51 f., 79. In *Iliad* XX.493–503, the slaughter wrought by Achilles causes the earth to flow with blood; and his horses trample beneath their feet the bodies of men and shields while his chariot is bespattered with blood as high as the rim about the box: cf. the somewhat similar scene in XI.532–537. A parallel passage is Livy I.48.7, where Tullia drives her chariot over the dead body of her father, Servius. She and the chariot are stained with his blood. In *Aeneid* XII the bloody scenes are less violent than the preceding but are distributed throughout the book.

²⁴ See VI.83–97.

²⁵ See XII.101–106, 147–150, 183–188.

²⁶ Cf. XII.645–649 with Dido's resignation in IV.384–387.

²⁷ See XII.308, 340, 385, 422, 512, 690 f. (blood); 668, 676 f., 694 (Furies and Fates).

²⁸ Verses 721, 765.

²⁹ Verses 714, 726, 795; 843–868.

³⁰ On the special force of *ater* in 335, 450, 591, see Fowler, *op. cit.* (note 6, above), 78 f., 92 f., 110 f. In *Aen.* II.360–369, Aeneas states that in the midst of the slaughter, *Nox atra cava circumvolat umbra*. Observe the personification here and compare the function of the owl as it is developed below, pp. 11 ff.

³¹ Verses 846, 860, 864, 881, 909, 952.

³² See *Aen.* VIII.667, 670.

³³ See the careful paper of George E. Duckworth in *Vergilius*, the Bulletin of the Vergilian Society, No. 4 (February, 1940), 5–17, Conway, *op. cit.* (note 21), 286 f.

³⁴ *Aen.* XII.725–745. This incident is clearly modeled on *Iliad* XIII.155–168, 239–329, where Meriones in the contest with Deiphobus breaks the shaft of his spear against Deiphobus' shield and is forced to withdraw. He returns leisurely with another weapon. Homer describes this as merely an incident of battle, not as anything particularly serious. Catharine Saunders, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* LXXI (1940), 537–555, discussing the origin of many Vergilian proper names suggests (554) that 'Metiseus' may be derived from μετέχοο, but she does not cite the Homeric pattern for this Vergilian incident.

³⁵ Cf. W. Warde Fowler *op. cit.* (note 6, above), 154–156; also his *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (Oxford, 1918), 95. Conway, *op. cit.* (note 21, above), 287, appropriately quotes *Aen.* II.389, 410–412, passages which describe the unfortunate trick of Coroebus that brought the Trojans misfortune.

³⁶ See *Iliad* XVI; XVII.201–208, esp. This armor belonged to Achilles and had been borrowed by Patroclus. Rhys Carpenter, *op. cit.* (note 2, above), 74 f., sees in Achilles' divine (marvelous) armor an aspect of folk motif (Märchen), to which Calhoun had likewise called attention; A. J. P. LX (1939), 8. Vergil does not indicate why he considered the *balteus* of young Pallas *infelix*, but was probably thinking of the principle to which Fowler called attention (see note 35, above).

³⁷ Compare XII.843–886, with VII.341–405.

³⁸ XII.845–850. In view of *Georg.* IV.492; *Aen.* VI.570–572; *Iliad* IX.457, 569, I follow Mackail in his interpretation of verse 849 (. . . saevique in limine regis) as a description of Pluto.

³⁹ Shakespeare, *Macbeth* I.5.39–41 (spoken by Lady Macbeth); *Julius C.* I.3.26.

⁴⁰ By mutual agreement between Jupiter and Juno in verses 791–842, Juno refuses further aid to Turnus.

⁴¹ See *Aen.* IV.451–465.

⁴² See the illuminating note of Kirby Flower Smith on Tibullus I.5.52, who strangely does not cite this passage in Vergil. Strictly speaking, the bird of *Aen.* IV.462 f., is the *bubo*, but in XII.862–864, it is the *noctua*. Cf. Servius on the latter passage. For the ill-omened *noctua*, *Georg.* I.402 f.; for the *bubo*, see Pease on *Aen.* IV.462.

⁴³ N. Terzaghi, 'La Morte di Turno e Due Urne Etrusche del R. Museo di Firenze,' *Atene e Roma* XXI (1918), 94–103.

⁴⁴ See Terzaghi's paper. Ducati cites Livy VII.26, a passage which I shall discuss later.

⁴⁵ This is the view of Bienkowski, according to Terzaghi, the former being the author of *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1908).

⁴⁶ For instance, C. Michalowski, *Eos* XXXIII (1930), 54 f., in accordance with his belief that Vergil was not influenced in his descriptions by art at any time.

⁴⁷ Livy XXI.62.4.

⁴⁸ See H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* II (London, 1910), 577 f.; M. von Bahrfeldt, *Die Römische Goldmünzenprägung* (Halle, 1923), 69 f.; Hill, *Illustrations of School Classics*, No. 28. According to Aulus Gellius (*N. A.* IX.11) Augustus had erected in his Forum a statue of Corvinus which showed the raven perched on his head.

⁴⁹ It is helpful to have the expert testimony of Bienkowski, the author cited in note 45, above, that the warrior is probably a Gaul.

⁵⁰ See *Georg.* I.381 f.

⁵¹ *Georg.* I.410–423.

⁵² Plautus, *Aul.* 624; Cicero, *de Div.* I.39.85; Verg. *Buc.* IX.14 f.; in general, Ernest Whitney Martin, *The Birds of the Latin Poets* (Stanford Univ., Cal., 1914), 73–78, for *corvus*.

⁵³ For the *noctua* (cf. note 42, above), see Martin, *op. cit.* 153–157.

⁵⁴ Technically, Turnus is the Menelaus of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is Paris, and Lavinia is Helen; see VII.319–322; IX.136–139; XII.97–100. But Vergil is not given to following slavishly mere technique if it does not suit his literary purpose.

⁵⁵ In VII.406 ff., Vergil applies the following epithets to Turnus: *amens* (XII.742, 776), *ardens* (XII.55, 71, 325, 670, 732), *fervidus* (XII.325), *praeceps* (XII.735; cf. 324–327, 731–742), *turbidus* (XII.10, 70, 671). Turnus is the victim of *furor* (XII.680), of the *Furiæ* (XII.101 f., 668), of *insania* (XII.667), of *violentia* (XII.9, 45). He is *iuvensis* XII.19, 149, 221, 598), the son of King Daunus of Apulia (X.616, 688; XII.22, 90), who is still alive (XII.932–938), and he is the hope of Italy (XII.34–45). When Vergil attributes Greek parentage to Turnus, deriving him from King Daunus of Apulia, representing his shield as displaying a double Argive device in Io and Inachus (VII.789–792) and associating with him Argive troops in addition to others (VII.794), he intensifies the conception of Turnus as the Achilles of Italy. His great stature (X.445–7) reminds us of Agamemnon (*Iliad* II.480–483) but his physical beauty (VII.55–7, 783 f.) recalls Achilles, to whom only Nireus was second (*Iliad* II.673 f.). It is in violence of character, however, that he most closely resembles Achilles, a violence most appropriately suggested by the wildly rushing mountain stream, to which he is

compared (XII.521–528), or like a devastating mountain slide (XII.684–690). Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile* (on *Aen.* VII.407), observes that through the family line, Daunus—Pilumnus—Danae, Turnus was ultimately connected with Argos and Mycenae, which was the Italic version of the legend.

⁵⁶ See XII.134–160. Thetis, the mother of Achilles, was likewise beloved of Zeus; but Vergil seems to have intensified Juturna's character in that she leaves her home in the water (cf. XII.139 f., 885 f.), becomes Turnus' charioteer (XII.468–499), and assists him until she is restrained by Jupiter (XII.843–886). The popular Roman legend claimed that she had assisted the Dioseuri in the battle at Lake Regillus. The *Lacus Juturnae* was pointed out in the Roman Forum (Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum* (tr. Carter, 1909), 164–170; Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1929), 311–313).

⁵⁷ Horace, *Odes* III.2.5–12.

⁵⁸ *Aen.* XII.593–613.

⁵⁹ XII.946.

⁶⁰ In *Odes* II.1.29–36.

⁶¹ In *Odes* III.6.33–44.

⁶² *Aen.* VII.647 f.; VIII.7, 481, 483; X.897 f.

⁶³ VIII.481–519.

⁶⁴ See H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, pp. 44 f. This testimony of Cato is found in several citations by Servius on the *Aen.* According to Cato, both Aeneas and Turnus fell in a second battle, in which Turnus was aided by Mezentius; later Ascanius slew Mezentius.

⁶⁵ Livy I.2.

⁶⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, I.64, which was composed less than twenty years after Vergil's death. R. Heinze, *Virgil's Epische Technik* 3 (1928), 171–182, discusses the various stories about Turnus. For the question of Turnus' home and ancestry in Vergil, see Holland, in A. J. P. LVI (1935), 206–208. J. Whatmough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy* (London, 1937), 231, is inclined to group Turnus, Tuseus, E-trus-eus, and related Greek words as of similar origin.

⁶⁷ Livy I.46.3–59.13.

⁶⁸ That is, *Aeneid* XII, 952 is identical with XI.831. For the death of Patroclus and of Hector, respectively, see *Iliad* XVI.856 f. and XXII.362 f. Vergil's *vita... indignata* is his rendering of Homer's ὅν πότιμον γεώσα.

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REVIEWS

Cicero in the Courtroom of St. Thomas Aquinas.

By E. K. RAND. v, 115 pp. (The Aquinas Lecture, 1945; Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1946). \$1.50

It seems very fitting and symbolic of E. K.

Rand's whole life-work that this little printed lecture and the great Harvard Servius were his last two works. For all his printed works may roughly be divided into two classes: works of high scholarship like his Studies in the Script of Tours, and more popular works on Vergil, Horace, Ovid, etc. Furthermore, Rand was both *Ciceronianus et Christianus*; he loved Vergil and Horace, Cicero and Lucretius, but he also loved Dante and those whom he called 'Founders of the Middle Ages.' And finally, while in the more erudite tomes his gifts as a learned scholar are most evident, it is in his more popular writings that his qualities as a humanist display themselves, his urbane wit, his grace of style, his broad sympathy with everything human.

One feels from the outset that preparing this lecture on 'Cicero in the Courtroom of St. Thomas' was for Rand a work of love, albeit a new kind of adventure. He was not, he admits, a specialist in the theological works of St. Thomas, but he was eager to explore, with the help of a Concordance, just what Aquinas, the prince of theologians, thought of Cicero, the prince of humanists. To begin with, 'the liberal arts,' says Rand, 'are a fixed part in St. Thomas' thought.' He quotes a score of old classical authors, but most of all Cicero, 'locutor egregius,' even though 'he often quotes him like a gentleman, that is inexactly, nor was he obliged—oh happy age!—to verify his references.' But what interest, asks Rand, would St. Thomas, supreme metaphysician, take in either the philosophical essays or the rhetorical treatises of Cicero? After some remarks on the clarity, simplicity, and nobility of Aquinas' Latin prose, he shows how St. Thomas uses material drawn from Cicero's rhetorical works, especially the *De Inventione* and the *Ad Herennium*, then looked upon as one of Cicero's works. The saint accepts Cicero's definition of the four cardinal virtues and treats them in the same order. In fact, Cicero's definition of virtue as 'a natural mental habit in conformity with reason' is a *locus classicus* for St. Thomas. Often a seedling cast by Cicero flowers into a long-developed thought in St. Thomas. When he enquires whether religion directs man solely to God, the only evidence he adduces to

support his thesis is Cicero's definition of religion in his *De Inventione*. 'This,' remarks Rand, 'is a high compliment to a little work on rhetoric by a poor pagan.' Of course, Cicero's definitions do not always fare as well as here. Sometimes they need to be reformed in the light of Christian truth. But in general Cicero is 'a weighty and respected source for St. Thomas,' who quotes his *De Inventione* about seventy times.

Besides the rhetorical works, the *De Officiis* was an important source for the saint, while the *Tusculans* 'proved a quarry of evidence for some of the cases in St. Thomas' court.' The first real criticism of Tully occurs when he is gently reproved for calling the passions of the soul diseases. St. Thomas, like St. Augustine, disapproves of Stoic rigidity. 'Is the thirst for glory a sin?' asks St. Thomas, and we fear that Cicero will come off badly in this debate. For his words *omnes ad studia incenduntur gloria* are quoted among the objections. But St. Thomas' distinction between higher glory, which is good, and *vana gloria*, which is evil, saves the day for Cicero, who himself often made the same distinction. Again, when the question is raised: 'Is the world governed by somebody?' the prize for the right answer is given equally to the author of Wisdom, to Boethius, and to Cicero.

In a word, St. Thomas appeals to a host of witnesses: to Greek and Roman poets and philosophers, Christian poets and doctors, saints and heretics, Hebrews and Arabs, mystics, monastics, and metaphysicians. Aquinas, Rand observes, 'is a Christian humanist, like that good householder of whom Our Lord speaks, who drew from his treasury things new and old.' And they are not culprits summoned to the bar, but genuine witnesses, in whose words the saint is interested for the element of truth they often contain. Cicero is among the most favored of these witnesses, and to him St. Thomas, a humble lover of the truth, listens with evident respect. Moreover, the saint was always searching for the meanings of words. Hence also his high regard for Cicero, a master of the spoken and written word.

One cannot read this little book and fail to feel at the end a deep respect for both Cicero and St. Thomas. And that, after all, was the high pur-

pose of so much that Rand wrote. 'For,' he wrote in his *Founders of the Middle Ages*, 'from first to last the principle is written clear that, while Christian faith finds much in Pagan belief and Pagan morals to avoid, it may, or rather must, draw freely for its sustenance on the thought, the poetry, and the inspiration of the past.' So thought St. Thomas Aquinas. So should we all think.

FRANCIS A. SULLIVAN, S.J.

ST. ANDREW-ON-HUDSON

Sophocles: Oedipus at Colonus. Translated by R. C. TREVELYAN; pp. 76. Cambridge University Press (New York: Macmillan) 1946. 3s.6d.

Mr. Trevelyan has published several distinguished translations of Latin and Greek authors, among which are poetic versions of the *Medea* of Euripides, the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus, and the *Ajax* of Sophocles. In the preface to the translation of the *Ajax* he explains that in rendering the choral lyrics of the Greek he attempts to produce English choral passages which can be used with music written for the original Greek text. For the most part Mr. Trevelyan has evidently followed this same technique in his new version of the *Oedipus at Colonus*. However, in his prefatory note he confesses that, though he was able to imitate the metrical pattern and phrasing of most of the choral passages, he found the Greek rhythms of certain sections 'so difficult to reproduce in English verse' that he gave up his effort and adopted freer English verse-forms. One can only applaud his unwillingness to mangle 'phrasing and diction for the sake of a theory.'

The present translation, on the whole, is most effective, though it does not quite reach the high level of excellence of the *Ajax*. Mr. Trevelyan employs an admirably varied and restrained basic pentameter line for the iambic trimeters of the Greek. To take a very simple instance;—the powerful one-line speech of Oedipus to the Stranger of Colonus (line 74):

οσ' ἀν λέγωμεν πάνθ' ὄρωντα λέξομεν,

which is rendered thus:

'In all that I shall speak there will be vision.'

A short passage from the famous chorus on Colonus should suffice to illustrate the quality of Mr. Trevelyan's lyric translation:

To a land, stranger, of noble horses,
The fairest of earth's abodes thou comest
To white-gleaming Colonus, where
Nightingales ever love to haunt
Trilling loudly their liquid carols
Hidden close in the green groves,
Dwelling midst of the wine-dark ivy,
The God's bower inviolate
Rich with a myriad fruits and unvisited
By sun, where never fierce storms
Of wind bluster, —

(lines 668–78)

The more one reads the *Oedipus at Colonus*, the more overwhelming becomes the religious and mystical symbolism of the moment in the play when Oedipus walks unguided to his death. Mr. Trevelyan, perhaps not in the text itself, but at least by more elaborate stage directions, might have with greater effectiveness communicated the power of this scene to the English reader.

WHITNEY J. OATES

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ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

Prepared under the supervision of Professor Charles T. Murphy of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

PHILOSOPHY. RELIGION. SCIENCE

MINAR, EDWIN L., JR. *Pythagorean Communism*. Most of our ancient tradition concerning communism depends ultimately on Timaeus. There are no external reasons for doubting his testimony. Pythagoreans were apparently divided into several classes: complete initiates, those serving a five-year apprenticeship, and those in an earlier three-year period. There was possibly also another group of lesser adherents. Goods and property became common during the five-year apprenticeship. This system may have fallen into abeyance with Pythagoras' departure from Croton (509), or his death (494), and cannot have lasted beyond the great revolt in the middle of the 5th century, which broke the society's political power. Plato and Aristotle do not comment on Pythagorean communism, because they were interested in state, rather than social, organizations. Pythagorean communism is just one aspect of an aristocratic group with deep religious

and moral convictions. Among them the very word 'friend' had a technical specialized meaning.

TAPA 75 (1944) 34-46 (Bourne)

SCHILLING, ROBERT. *L'Hercule Romain en face de la Réforme Religieuse d'Auguste*. Close relation of Hercules cult of Ara Maxima and early broad functions of Mars; during republic, gradual restriction of Mars to war aspects and corresponding expansion of Hercules' functions to include especially Abundance and Victory; development of cult seemed to point to increasing influence and scope. Reversal of trend under Augustus, due to political and personal factors, leading to eclipse of Hercules and great prominence of Mars Ultor; chthonic functions of Hercules then dominant again, with stress on Fortuna aspect. Hercules in cult, popular story, and literature through first century: excesses of panegyrists, glorifying emperors as Hercules, leading to discredit and ridicule; however, expansion of popular stories of Labors, with increasing emphasis on idea of the benefactor of mankind; development of stories with symbolism and allegory in philosophy, portraying Hercules as victor over human passions and fears, inspiration for man. Discussion of role in plays of Seneca; brief account of Tibur cult, where alone the old military Hercules Victor survived, with Salian priests and other features of Ara Maxima cult.

RPh 16 (1942) 31-57 (Taylor)

SCHMID, PIERRE. *Notes Critiques sur le Traité des Maladies Chroniques de Caelius Aurelianus*. Fifth-century medical treatise based on lost work of Soranus of Ephesus, distinguished physician of 2nd century. No extant mss., text founded on Renaissance editions. Detailed discussions of problems of text. Continuation of author's thesis.

RPh 17 (1943) 37-55, 131-56 (Taylor)

VON FRITZ, KURT. *The Discovery of Incommensurability by Hippasus of Metapontum*. Modern historians of mathematics have been disinclined to believe the ancient tradition that dates the discovery of incommensurability in the middle of the fifth century B.C., when Greek mathematics was still in its infancy and concerned with the most elementary, or even trivial, problems. This article attempts to prove that the tradition which attributes the discovery to Hippasus of Metapontum, a Pythagorean philosopher of the middle of the fifth century, is of such nature that its authenticity can hardly be questioned, and is supported by strong indirect evidence. It can also be shown that the discovery can have been made even on a very elementary level; and that Hippasus may well have used the Pythagorean pentagram, i.e., a regular pentagon with its sides prolonged to the point of intersection, to demonstrate the incommensurability of the diagonal with the side of a regular polygon.

Annals of Mathematics 46 (1945) 242-64 (C. T. M.)

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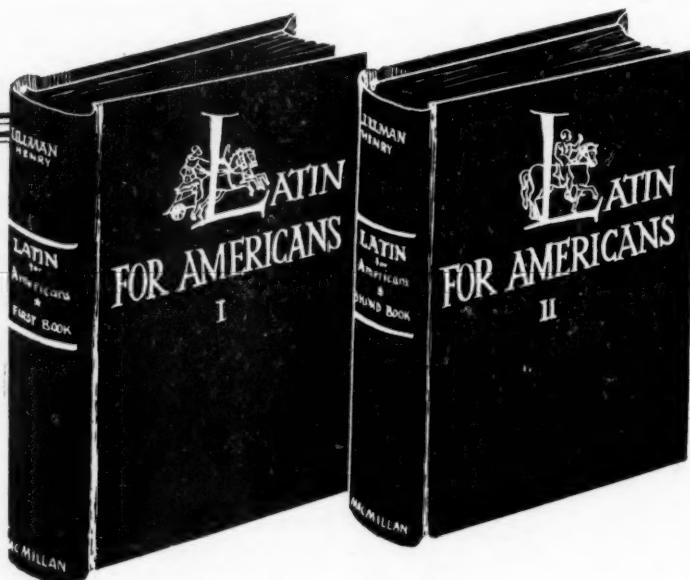
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